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they pause and rest. The women tell me they weep because they fear the pain being inflicted upon their sons, who are themselves afraid. The women, other than the mothers, say that they are sorry for the mothers whose boys are now being circumcised, and that they dance in sympathy with them.

CIRCUMCISION

In the meantime the boys are being circumcised.[1] One hears no sound from the enclosure, and I was told that a piece of wood is put in the boy's mouth to prevent him from crying out. A father will hold his son steady while another man does the cutting, which is now done with a knife, but in the past with a stone instrument.

By the middle of the morning the men and women of Tagam are busy arranging the food in piles. All the women who danced during the night now return to Ponatlege with empty baskets. They stop and sit down just before they enter. This halt just before entering a place happens very frequently and appears to be an act of courtesy; the guests do not want to arrive before the hosts are ready. When the Tagam people have completed the arrangements of the food, the women enter Ponatlege, where the distribution is to take place.

SPEECHES OF WOMEN

Taro and coconuts are arranged in two piles on the ground. A group of Eagle women—all of them wives of the

[1] While I observed all the rites, I did not go into the enclosure to see the boys being circumcised, nor did I go inside the enclosure at any time while the boys were confined there, although it would have been possible for me to have done so. As the preceding description indicated, there was a decided grouping according to sex and a strained, hostile feeling between the men and the women. As I had been identified rather closely with the women, even to the extent of participating in one of the dances, I thought it would be unwise to swerve suddenly to the masculine group.

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profit, as known in our society, does not exist. A man might, if he liked, sell it for less, but never for more.

The payment of *tsera* does not end the transaction. The purchase of a pig is itself a reciprocal matter. That is, suppose a man, whom we will call A, buys a pig for the mortuary feast of his maternal uncle from B. A pays *tsera* to B for it in the manner just described. Now at some future time, when a relative of B dies, he will in turn buy a pig from A, to whom he will pay *tsera*. Thus the purchaser of a pig is obligated to sell a pig at some future time to the same person from whom he is now buying. There is thus no class of people who buy as opposed to those who sell. Everyone is in turn both a buyer and a seller. One must not make a mistake in etiquette and ask a man for a return pig before the appropriate occasion, such as a mortuary feast, arises. Even then it is not asked for, but the man brings the pig of his own accord. Not to observe this etiquette is much more than just being in bad form, but outrages all tradition, as is illustrated by the following incident which I witnessed. About a year ago Kadecka sold a pig to Garrili, his wife's maternal uncle, when the latter was making a mortuary feast. The proper time for Garrili to sell a pig to Kadecka would be when Kadecka's mother dies. She is old and feeble and her death is expected. But before it happens Kadecka quarrelled with his wife, Lolo, and in the heat of anger told her to go and tell her maternal uncle Garrili that it was time he returned the pig. Lolo ran away from her husband's house to Garrili's house and told him what her husband had said. Garrili, very much on his dignity, immediately came with a pig for Kadecka. This may sound like a small affair, but not so to the natives. It was as if a cyclone had struck the village. The whole place was in an uproar over what was considered Kadecka's scandalous behaviour. Groups gathered everywhere and denounced him in no uncertain terms. As the pig was there, a ritual feast had to be made for it, and Kadecka

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had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili for the pig. When the feast was held, Kadecka was so ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came through the village, and no one expressed any regret when he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social position.

Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears, drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary, and the payments are made in public. These objects, however, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit. But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is another story. The possession of magic is the most important source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful